1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.]

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana vata*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vaka-mamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengu-rengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be.

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*alewa vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vaka-mamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau.

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiutthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high. 526

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows: [525]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

[539]

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other. [578]

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 526 171

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
● [578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently
621 at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
178 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
●578 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
● [578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
[838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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554 177 634 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 177 578 634 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were [623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 614 554 159 The division of political power in the Kambara district has deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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423 754 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 431 621 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 578 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from the modern western economic system. He is economically independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in southern Lau.